

Message Text

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USIA-06 ACDA-05 BIB-01 ERDA-05 OMB-01 OIC-02 SAM-01

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INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON

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USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 BONN 05524

GENEVA FOR CSCE DEL

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CSCE, GW

SUBJECT: CSCE: INCREASING PUBLIC DIMENSION OF THE
CONFERENCE IN THE FRG

BEGIN SUMMARY: THE CSCE PROCEEDINGS IN GENEVA ARE
INCREASINGLY BEING BROUGHT TO PUBLIC ATTENTION IN THE
FRG. THINGS HAVE BEEN RELATIVELY QUIET SINCE THE
OCTOBER 1974 CSCE DEBATE IN THE BUNDESTAG WHICH
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GENERATED LITTLE HEAT OVER THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY.

HOWEVER, THE PAST TWO WEEKS HAVE SEEN THE CONFERENCE ASSUME A LARGER PUBLIC DIMENSION. IN A TELEVISION INTERVIEW, FONMIN GENSCHER MADE THE POINT THAT "QUALITY COMES BEFORE TIME" AND STRESSED THE NEED FOR CLARITY OF FORMULATION TO SERVE THE CAUSE OF DETENTE. OPPOSITION CRITICISM IN THE BUNDESTAG AND IN PRESS INTERVIEWS, RELATIVELY QUIESCENT SINCE LAST YEAR'S DEBATE, IS PICKING UP MOMENTUM ABOUT THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE CONFERENCE FOR GERMAN INTERESTS. THE CLARITY OF KEY FORMULATIONS CAN BE EXPECTED TO BE A SOURCE OF INCREASING CONCERN IN THE MONTHS AHEAD. FRG NEGOTIATORS WILL WANT TO AVOID GIVING THE OPPOSITION ISSUES WHICH COULD BE EXPLOITED FOR DOMESTIC POLITICAL GAIN. END SUMMARY

1. BECAUSE OF THE ESOTERIC NATURE OF CSCE, THE PROCEEDINGS IN GENEVA HAVE NOT HAD MUCH OF AN IMPACT IN THE FRG EITHER IN PARLIAMENT OR IN PUBLIC. LAST OCTOBER'S DEBATE IN THE BUNDESTAG STIMULATED BY THE CDU/CSU'S MAJOR QUESTION (GROSSE ANFRAGE) REVEALED A SURPRISING DEGREE OF AGREEMENT BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND OPPOSITION ABOUT THE FRG'S APPROACH TO THE CONFERENCE. SINCE THAT TIME CDU/CSU CRITICISM OF THE GOVERNMENT'S POLICY HAS BEEN MUTED IN TONE, AND IT IS ONLY RECENTLY, DURING THE EASTER VACATION MINI-PAUSE, THAT THE PUBLIC SPOTLIGHT FOCUSED MORE SHARPLY ON THE CONFERENCE.

2. FONMIN GENSCHER APPEARED ON GERMAN TELEVISION ON MARCH 31 TO PROVIDE AN OVERVIEW OF CSCE FOR DOMESTIC VIEWERS. GENSCHER'S COMMENTS WERE NOT OUT OF THE ORDINARY, AND HE GENERALLY MADE THE SAME WELL-KNOWN POINTS ABOUT EC-9 AND NATO POSITIONS. THE FONMIN'S PRINCIPAL POINT WAS THAT "QUALITY COMES BEFORE TIME." SECONDLY, GENSCHER INDICATED THAT "CLARITY OF FORMULATION WILL SERVE THE CAUSE OF DETENTE." GENSCHER ALSO INDICATED THAT THE CONFERENCE RESULTS SHOULD NOT BE CONSTRUED AS AN ERSATZ PEACE TREATY FOR GERMANY. GENSCHER CONTINUED AS FOLLOWS: "...ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT FOR US THAT THE PRINCIPLES

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WHICH THE CONFERENCE WILL STATE IN THE END WILL INCLUDE THE RIGHT OF SELF-DETERMINATION JUST AS THEY WILL INCLUDE HUMAN RIGHTS, THAT THE POSSIBILITY OF A PEACEFUL CHANGE OF FRONTIERS WILL BE FORMULATED, A POINT WHICH WE CONSIDER IMPORTANT AS GERMANS AND AS EUROPEANS. FIRST, THIS WILL MAKE IT PLAIN ONCE AGAIN THAT WE KEEP THE GERMAN PROBLEM OPEN, JUST AS THIS HAS BEEN LAID DOWN IN THE LETTER ON GERMAN UNITY. SECOND, THIS IS

NECESSARY, TOO, FOR PREVENTING THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN
UNITY, WHICH IS A CENTRAL POINT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY,
FROM BEING IMPEDED BY CONFERENCE RESULTS..."

3. THE FONMIN'S REMARKS ALSO INCLUDED CONSIDERABLE
REFERENCE TO THE PROCESS OF DETENTE IN EUROPE. IN
GENSCHER'S VIEW, THE FRAMEWORK CONDITIONS FOR AND THE
GERMAN INTEREST IN DETENTE POLICY CONTINUE TO EXIST
UNCHANGED. HOWEVER, HE POINTED OUT THAT THE PROCESS
OF DETENTE CAN PROGRESS ONLY STEPWISE. MOREOVER, THE
DETENTE PROCESS SHOULD ALSO BE OF DIRECT BENEFIT TO
THE GERMAN PEOPLE IN QUESTIONS SUCH AS FAMILY

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REUNIFICATION, VISITS TO RELATIVES AND THE EXCHANGE OF INFORMATION. IN ANSWER TO THE INTERVIEWER'S QUESTION ABOUT WHETHER CSCE WOULD MERELY REMAIN A PATCHWORK UNLESS MBFR WERE SUCCESSFUL, GENSCHER RESPONDED BY NOTING THE EXTRAORDINARY SIGNIFICANCE FOR DETENTE OF THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA. IN CONCLUDING HIS REMARKS, GENSCHER NOTED THAT THE FRG'S FIRM ANCHORING IN AN EFFECTIVE ALLIANCE AND THE PROCESS OF EUROPEAN UNIFICATION WERE THE PREREQUISITES FOR A REALISTIC POLICY OF CONFIDENTIAL

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DETENTE VIS-A-VIS THE EAST.

4. OPPOSITION ACTIVITY IN THE BUNDESTAG ON THE SUBJECT OF CSCE HAS BEEN MINIMAL SINCE LAST OCTOBER, ALTHOUGH OPPOSITION SPOKESMEN ARE BEGINNING TO VOICE INCREASING CONCERN ABOUT WHAT THE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE MAY MEAN FOR GERMAN INTERESTS. ON MARCH 20 CDU DEPUTY JAHN FORMALLY POSED TWO QUESTIONS REGARDING THE FRG'S POSITION VIS-A-VIS A CONFERENCE FOLLOW-UP INSTITUTION AND WHETHER THE FRG INTENDED TO MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE CONFERENCE RESULTS COULD NOT BE CONFUSED WITH A TYPE OF PEACE TREATY ARRANGEMENT. THE GOVERNMENT RESPONDED OFFICIALLY THAT IT TOO SHARED THE OPPOSITION'S CONCERN ABOUT THE CREATION OF A CSCE FOLLOW-UP ORGAN HAVING GENERAL POLITICAL COMPETENCE IN EUROPE. THE GOVERNMENT STATED THAT NOTHING HAS CHANGED ITS POSITION. AS FOR THE SECOND QUESTION, THE GOVERNMENT SPOKESMAN STATED THAT CSCE WAS NOT A CONFERENCE ABOUT GERMANY AND CONFUSION WITH A TYPE OF PEACE TREATY ARRANGEMENT WAS FULLY EXCLUDED.

5. ALOIS MERTES, CDU DEPUTY FROM GEROLSTEIN AND FORMER FONOFF OFFICIAL RESPONSIBLE FOR CSCE WHO IS PERHAPS THE OPPOSITION'S LEADING SPOKESMAN ON EAST-WEST SECURITY MATTERS, EXPRESSED HIS CONCERN ABOUT POSSIBLE NEGATIVE RESULTS OF THE CONFERENCE IN A DPA PRESS INTERVIEW ON MARCH 28. MERTES' MAIN CONCERN RELATED TO RESULTS LEADING TO FUTURE SOVIET INFLUENCE IN WEST BERLIN AND THE FRG WHICH WOULD UNDERMINE THE WESTERN PRESENCE IN GERMANY. HE ALSO REFERRED TO THE POSSIBLE DIFFERING INTERPRETATIONS OF THE FINAL DOCUMENT, PARTICULARLY THE INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS PRINCIPLE TEXT. MERTES CONCLUDED THE INTERVIEW BY NOTING THAT CSCE SHOULD NOT CREATE MORE INSECURITY

AND TENSION IN EUROPE.

6. COMMENT: WHILE FONMIN GENSCHER'S COMMENTS IN THE TELEVISION INTERVIEW WERE BASICALLY PRO FORMA, HIS REFERENCE TO THE PROBLEM OF THE CLARITY OF THE TEXTS REFLECTS FRG CONCERN ABOUT ANTICIPATED EASTERN DIFFERENCES IN INTERPRETATION. GENSCHER'S CONTINUING
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DIFFICULTIES WITH THE SOVIET UNION OVER THE INTERPRETATION OF THE QA PROBABLY MOTIVATED THIS REMARK. GERMAN CONCERN ABOUT CLARITY IS ALSO ILLUSTRATED BY THE PROBLEM WITH THE RUSSIANS OVER THE HUMANITARIAN PREAMBLE LANGUAGE IN WHICH THE SOVIETS INSIST UPON USING THE RUSSIAN WORD TO "PERFECT" THEIR RESTRICTIVE SYSTEM.

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7. DOMESTIC CRITICISM OF FRG POLICY HAS BEEN RELATIVELY
MODERATE UP TO THIS POINT, WITH THE OPPOSITION NOT YET
HAVING ACCESS TO THE ACTUAL TEXTS DEVELOPED IN GENEVA.
FRG OFFICIALS HAVE MADE A CONSCIENTIOUS EFFORT, HOWEVER,
TO KEEP THE OPPOSITION INFORMED ABOUT THE CONFERENCE.
IT IS CONCEIVABLE THAT WHEN THE TEXTS BECOME AVAILABLE,
THE OPPOSITION MAY SEIZE UPON THOSE POINTS EXPECTED TO
CAUSE FURTHER DIFFICULTIES FOR THE FRG OVER WEST
BERLIN OR WHICH IMPLY THAT THE SOVIETS HAVE THE
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RIGHT TO INTERFERE POLITICALLY IN THE FRG OR WITH WEST
EUROPEAN UNIFICATION EFFORTS. AS THE CONFERENCE
ROUNDS THE TURN INTO THE HOME STRETCH, FRG SENSITIVITY
TOWARDS TEXTUAL NUANCES MAY BECOME MORE ACUTE THAN IN
THE PAST IN VIEW OF THE POSSIBLE USE WHICH AN
INCREASINGLY CONFIDENT OPPOSITION COULD MAKE OF
CONFERENCE RESULTS WHICH SEEM DETRIMENTAL TO VITAL
GERMAN INTERESTS.
HILLENBRAND

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